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EMPEROR BRIM

"Always on well harnessed horses."

STORIES OF OLD OCMULGEE FIELDS

EMPEROR BRIM

THE GREATEST AMERICAN INDIAN

BY

WALTER A. ^{Alexander} HARRIS

MACON, GEORGIA
THE J. W. BURKE COMPANY

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By

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To
Dr. John R. Swanton

*Who gives the treasures of his wisdom and learning to the
people of his country, and, with the modesty of a
true gentleman and the humility of a real
scientist, never considers the value
of what he gives away.*

Foreword

The acts and conduct of the Indian tribes of the Southeast more directly and more vitally affected the existence of the English settlements in America than did those of the Indians of any other section. Unfortunately, they escaped the notice of the Northern historians whose excellent books have formed the basis of the American history taught in our schools. Consequently, those born within the territory once held by the Creeks know a great deal about the Iroquois Confederacy and nothing about the Creek Confederacy. They have read much about the Conspiracy of Pontiac and have never heard about the Yamacsee War. They are familiar with King Philip and have never met Emperor Brim.

The books of Swanton, of Bolton, of Crane, and of Lanning, supply the means of correcting the deficiencies in our knowledge of what happened in the Southeast during the colonial period, but it will be a long time before they are so widely read that the majority of the American people will cease to labor under the delusion created by the other historians that the history of this section in that time is a monotonous void.

This little book is an effort to restore a great American to his lost place in the history of his native land. If, from its sale, there should be any net revenue, that will be turned over to the Macon Historical Society as the nucleus of a fund to erect a monument in Old Ocmulgee Fields to the memory of Emperor Brim.

EMPEROR BRIM

THE GREATEST AMERICAN INDIAN



PANIARDS, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, who agreed about little else at the beginning of the eighteenth century, united in calling one American Indian great. In his lifetime, his fame spread from his town in the piney-woods of the land that was to be Georgia to the capitals of the three great nations of Europe. Today, a little more than two hundred years after his death, we are not sure that we know even his name. Tobias Fitch, who conducted South Carolina's final diplomatic negotiations with him, in the effort to represent the Indian sound of that name by English letters, spells it in seven different ways ranging from "Brmns" through "Briminis" to "Brunin."¹

The white men call him "Emperor of the Creeks." Though his own people know no such title, it is fairly descriptive of his power and authority among them; for he is Chief of the "tall Coweta", the red war-town whose prowess, before history begins, has won for it the hegemony of the Muskogees and the other tribes that by force or by negotiation they have brought into their Confederacy.

We cannot tell with certainty just when he first appears upon the stage. When we are able to identify him definitely, he gives the impression of great age. "Old Brim", the English call him then.

So old he seems that we believe he must have been that *Gran Cazique* who was chief of the Coweta when the Spanish first pushed their canoes beyond the Apalachicola and found the Muskogees settled along the banks of the Chattahoochee; that *Gran Cazique*, exercising jurisdiction over eleven tribes, of whom Cabrera the Governor at St. Augustine wrote in 1682 to the King of Spain: "He is

the chief most feared in all those lands that border on the Chucumecos and other provinces and give their allegiance to the English settled in the province of San Jorge."²

Quite in character of Brim as we afterwards know him, are the actions of that *Gran Cazique* as revealed by the Spanish letters.

When the English come west of the Savannah, he allows some of his tribes to ask the Spanish for missionaries. Having looked the friars over for three days, he asserts his imperial authority, repudiates the invitation, and drives the friars out of his dominions. When they come again with infantry at their backs, he lets them remain until he can gather his own forces in numbers sufficient to overawe the military escort and then drives churchmen and soldiers back to their settlements in Apalachee. Nevertheless, even as he expels them, he hedges against the day when he may need their help; and so as Father Gutierrez leaves the Chattahoochee, that simple friar's heart is more glad than sad; for he believes that he will soon be called back to baptize the *Gran Cazique* and bring him and his eleven tribes at once under the spiritual dominion of Holy Church and under the temporal authority of His Catholic Majesty.³

In 1685, with six other English adventurers, appears at Coweta the most fascinating figure that ever fared into the forest, Dr. Henry Woodward, speaking five Indian languages and possessing, as the Spanish Governor himself writes, "a grand capacity and equal ingenuity."⁴ And now, as always with Brim, we are in doubt as to the motives that actuate the *Gran Cazique*. Did he, as did all the other Indians who came in contact with Woodward, surrender to his charm and love him enough to risk happiness and life itself for his sake? Or did the *Gran Cazique* see in the coming of the Englishmen an opportunity to use

their power and their arms to check the inexorable advance of the Spaniards into his territory? Whatever his motive, he protected the Englishmen to his own hurt. Vainly the Spaniards, with hundreds of his bitterest enemies the Apalachees, marched through his villages. Vainly they tortured the few of his men who fell into the hands of their soldiers. Vainly they sought to come upon the Englishmen by surprise and strategem. Always the Indians shielded Woodward and when he at last fell ill and could no longer play that grim game of hide and seek, they bore him on a stretcher escorted by a hundred and fifty of their best and bravest warriors through the forests and across the rivers to safety in Charleston.

The *Gran Cazique* paid dearly for this loyalty to Woodward, if loyalty it was. His own Coweta town and its white sister, the Kasihta town, were laid in ashes. All his corn stored up to feed his people through the winter was carried away by the Spaniards and their Apalachee allies.

While the Spaniards, angry and disappointed because of the escape of the Englishmen, were threatening yet more terrible vengeance against the *Gran Cazique* and his people, he did not hesitate to beg for mercy and profess his repentance. Just how sincere that repentance was, his next move showed; for when the Spaniards, determined to be on the ground when the Englishmen came again, built a fort among his villages and placed in it a mixed garrison of Spanish soldiers and the hated Apalachee, the *Gran Cazique* and his people abandoned those villages and slipped away to the Ocmulgee.⁵

This expatriation was probably no great wrench upon the heart-strings of his people; for if their tradition is true they, were only coming home to the place where they first sat down after their long journey from the west and formed their confederacy.⁶

After this time, 1690, the policy of the Creek Confed-

eracy is wholly the policy of Brim. It is a policy often approved and acted upon by the white men in their own international affairs. Not Wolsey, nor any other British or European statesman, ever more firmly believed in the doctrine of the balance of power or more dexterously applied it for the advantage of his own people.

Consider the situation of the Creek Confederacy at the end of the seventeenth century. It is no powerful empire able to crush its enemies by weight of numbers. The French and the South Carolinians acting independently undertake at approximately the same time to ascertain what force the Creeks can put into the field. Their figures agree amazingly that the Creek warriors do not number more than two thousand.⁷ These are not well-armed and fully equipped soldiers. Among their bows and spears and stone axes are only a few fire-arms hardly obtained by trade or capture from the Europeans. Nor is the Confederacy a unified nation. If there was ever a time when it acted as a unit, that time has passed. There is an ever-widening division between the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks that makes them more and more disposed to act independently. Be it said, in passing, to the credit of Old Brim that in the years to come, with consummate craft, he used this very division of his own people to preserve the balance of power among the three white powers that threatened his territory.

The Creeks have forced themselves into a country occupied by other Indians of whom those that they have not admitted to their Confederacy remain their bitter enemies. They claim dominion over "the lands from the river Savannah to the river St. John's, and all the islands between said rivers, and from the river St John's to the bay of Apalachee, within which is the Apalachee Old-Fields; and from said bay of Apalachee to the mountains", and they will afterwards assert in the treaty which they will make

with Oglethorpe in 1739 that they can prove their ancient right by "the heaps of bones of their enemies, slain by them in defense of said lands."⁸

North of them are the Cherokees, cherished as their dearest enemies. Northwest of them are the Chickasaws, their blood brethren now estranged and ready to join their foes. South of them are the Apalachees, "very tall, very valiant, and full of spirit",⁹ baptized, armed, and taught the Christian art of war by the Spaniards. West of them are the Choctaws, outnumbering them more than two to one and acting with amazing faithfulness in the interest of the French. East of them the English are fast detaching the inhabitants of ancient Guale from their allegiance to Spain and to the religion that the Spanish friars have taught them and inducing them to move closer to Charleston and form a friendly barrier around that infant colony.

More menacing than those red enemies are the white men who are reaching out their hands for the Creek territory. Spain, France, and England base their claims against one another upon prior discovery and occupation. Not until Oglethorpe comes, will any white man think it advisable to base his own claim to the territory on right derived from the Creeks.

The Spanish, first to discover the land and first to establish settlements in the Southeast, have so long considered the territory theirs for the taking that they have lost the aggressiveness that pushed their marching columns through Mexico and Peru and carried De Soto's cavaliers across the Southeast even to the Mississippi. Nevertheless when their right to lord it in this land is challenged they can still strike with an energy and a cruelty that recalls the Conquistadores.

The French as usual have thought through. They know what they are doing and where they are going. Unless

something stops them, they will encircle the English and drive them from their narrow strip of land into the sea. Already the two great sons of Charles Le Moyne have planted their settlements on the Gulf-coast, have pushed up the Mississippi and formed their everlasting alliance with the Choctaws, and have advanced eastward until they have reached Mobile Bay.

It is well for the English that their pioneers who have settled at Charleston, the youngest and the most precariously situated of their colonies, show none of the traditional English disposition to muddle through. They dream of empire while their northern brethren are content to cling to their settlements along the shore. They are fully aware of the menace of the Spaniard for they feel his pressure constantly on their flank. Long before any other English colonists, they perceive the encircling movement of the French and take their own measures to circumvent it. Traders all, they follow the paths through the forests until their laden pack-trains reach the Mississippi.

Against all these forces, Old Brim opposes craft and cunning. When he thinks it possible to annihilate one of the white powers by a single stroke, then only does he assemble the warriors of his whole Confederacy and stake its fate upon the issue of trial by combat. The Spanish, awake at last to the English threat to seize the territory that they regard as their own, will no longer trust the promises of the Creeks. In 1702 their soldiers and their Apalachee warriors advance to the Flint River. With a few English traders the Creeks meet them and, by a ruse, defeat them. Brim realizes that this advantage is only temporary. The tradition of Spanish invincibility must be broken once and for all. Creek messengers carry the news of the Spanish invasion to Charleston. In December 1703, the Creeks concentrate their warriors, one thousand in number, at Old Ocmulgee Fields. There to meet them with fifty South Carolinians comes James Moore, no longer

Governor but still burning with desire to avenge his failure at St. Augustine. Under the shadow of the great mound that looked down on the formation of the Creek Confederacy, that Confederacy forms its first offensive alliance with white men. Together the red warriors and the white soldiers march against the Spanish settlements and Indian villages of Apalachee. Some day, Moore's victory in Apalachee will be placed by historians among the decisive battles of the world. The power of Spain in the Southeast is broken. Never again will the Creeks fear invasion by the Apalachees, whose villages are destroyed, whose missions are burned, and the remnant of whose people not killed nor captured cower under the guns of St. Augustine. The English can now turn their attention to the French, to whom the result of the Apalachee campaign is immensely disturbing.¹⁰ There is good reason for their uneasiness, for, before his St. Augustine campaign, Moore has told the assembly at Charleston that the overthrow of the Spanish in Northern Florida would open a plain and easy way to remove the French from their settlements on the Gulf.¹¹

With their alliance blessed by victory, it would seem the English were justified in believing that the Creeks would remain their friends. Indeed the permanence of that alliance was proclaimed at a great council of the Confederacy held at Coweta in 1705 at which the chiefs and headmen signed with their marks "a Humble Submission to the Crown of England" in which they professed their fidelity to Queen Anne and the Governors of South Carolina.¹²

The name of Hoboyetly, King of the Cowetas, appears first among the signatures to that proclamation. If this was the Indian name of Brim, he did not long adhere to the terms of the document thus signed.

Once again he takes the field with the English: this time with a regular commission to lead his own people under the sanction of the British Queen. In the autumn of

1711, in company with the South Carolinians, supported by the Chickasaws, he leads thirteen hundred of his warriors through the Choctaw country. But as he has observed their elaborate preparations to insure the complete destruction of the Choctaws, he has perceived the design of the English as clearly as if he were able to read the correspondence in which they have discussed it among themselves. He knows that this is no expedition to punish an Indian tribe, but a piece of grand strategy whose success will end the French tenure of Louisiana. Brim is willing to curb the growing power of the French by striking a blow at their Choctaw allies, but to leave the English supreme with no fear of either the Spaniards or the French upon which he can play to the advantage of his own people is a consummation to which he has no desire to contribute. This explains what would otherwise be a puzzling difference between the conduct of the Creeks in this campaign and in that of 1703. Now the fierce determination to destroy their Indian enemies that made the Apalachee war so completely decisive is entirely lacking. Brim is willing to take a reasonable number of Choctaw slaves—the English pay good prices for them—but he permits the bulk of the inhabitants of the villages to escape, and makes no effort to annihilate the Choctaw nation. Their numbers are reduced and their military power abated but enough are left to be used by the French as a threat against the English.¹³

And now Brim adopts the spirit, though he knows not the words, of the slogan "America for Americans." He forms a plan to exterminate the white men, a plan that seems by no means hopeless at the time. If he can combine all the Indians and massacre the powerful English, the united red men can dispose of the Spanish and the French at their leisure. Secretly he sends his messengers to his ancient enemies. They reach the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, and the Yamasees. It seems certain that

they go among the more northern tribes as far as the Senecas.

Only the Chickasaws refuse outright to join the conspiracy. The Cherokees encourage Brim to believe that they will strike when the hour comes. The Yamasees join whole-heartedly. These the English have gathered around their settlements. They have been Charleston's shield and buckler. As they are the most trusted, their treachery gives Brim good reason to hope for success.

In 1715, he gives the signal. The English traders among the Creeks and among the Choctaws are slain. In South Carolina, the Yamasees nearly succeed in their design to surprise the English and massacre the entire colony. The outlying settlements are wiped out, though Charleston does not fall. North Carolina, Virginia, even Maryland, hear mutterings of hostility among their neighboring Indians. The uneasiness extends to New England.

But the Cherokees have played Brim false. His whole plan of extermination loses momentum while he waits for the Cherokees to strike. He realizes that all depends upon their action, and sends messenger after messenger to their council and even takes the risk of sending a party of his warriors into their territory to join in their attack upon the English. The Carolinians know that their fate is in the hands of the Cherokees and send their messengers and their soldiers among them. Suddenly just as Brim believes that they are about to adopt his plan to fall upon the English in their country, the Cherokees turn upon him, slay all the Creeks in their towns and join the English in an effort to cut off and destroy his war-party.¹⁴

Never does Brim forgive the Cherokees for this death blow to his great scheme. Ten years afterwards, when his policy dictates that he be on friendly terms with the English, he will agree to all else that their envoy asks but will say, "We have nothing of making a peace with the Cherokees. For them men that was killed by the Chero-

kees of mine when the white people was there is not over with me yet nor never shall be while there is a Coweta living."¹⁵

Desperately, Brim tries to complete the destruction of the English despite the defection of the Cherokees. For a moment it seems that he may yet succeed as the word comes that the Senecas or the Mohawks are about to fall upon the Cherokees and the Choctaws are moving eastward to join the Creeks in one grand assault upon the settlements of South Carolina,¹⁶ but somewhere in the forests the alliance falls to pieces and the Creeks are left alone to face the vengeance of the English.

Though Brim tried to conceal the fact that he was the prime mover in the great conspiracy, the English did not permit his people to go unpunished. According to Adair, the South Carolinians burned Old Ocmulgee Fields, and the sacred spot where the Creek Confederacy was formed became a waste town in which only the ghosts of those who were slain in its defense walked at night.¹⁷ To avoid further reprisals, Brim and his confederated tribes moved back to their old seats on the Chattahoochee.

Nevertheless the South Carolinians had learned to respect and fear Brim too much to feel at ease as long as he was in the field against them. On June 4, 1717, they thought it good policy to invite him and his chosen chiefs to come to their nearest garrison and discuss terms of peace, "for the Creeks are a numerous and warlike people and their Emperour as great a politician as any Governour in America,"¹⁸ but it was not until June 18, 1718, that the Governor was able to report to the Proprietors that he had made peace with "the Great Nation of the Creeks" and even then he added "but treaties with them are very precarious."¹⁹

The failure of his great design does not crush Brim. He will go no more to war against the white man. In such wars as the law of retaliation requires him to wage against

other Indians, Chekilli his faithful headman will lead his warriors. Henceforth, he will sit in his town on the river and devote himself to maintaining the independence of his Confederacy by peaceful application of his doctrine of the balance of power. He will never join one of the white nations in war against another white nation but, always when one of the three seeks to encroach upon the rights of his people, he will hold over it the threat that he will take the field on the side of one of its rivals.

He accepts the presents of the French, the entertainment of the Spanish, and the favors of the English.

From his policy, his people reap commercial advantages as well as security from invasion. When the Governor of South Carolina contemplates sending troops against him, the English envoy at Coweta writes to protest against it saying "It is the trade governs these people. If there comes any army they'll fly to the French."²⁰

To keep the white men in suspense, Brim does not object to the Upper Creeks favoring one side while the Lower Creeks favor the other. He even encourages a division of allegiance between his two sons. Seepeycoffee becomes the favorite and honored guest first of the Spanish and then of the French. His other son Hollata throws himself whole-heartedly into the English cause and dies fighting with the English against the Yamasees.

When the white men accuse him of double-dealing he feels no shame, for he knows that it does not lie in their mouths to make such a charge. Quietly he reminds Tobias Fitch that he has heard that Colonel Chicken and his South Carolinians are among the Cherokees giving them encouragement against the Creeks, while Fitch is at Coweta trying to induce Brim to make peace with those same Cherokees. Again, he suggests to Fitch that his people cannot understand the presence of Englishmen among the Yamasees, though, of course, he professes his own complete satisfaction with Fitch's explanation.²¹

These delicate intimations that he has fathomed the secret of their forest diplomacy are not very reassuring to the South Carolinians; for since 1717 their hope of accomplishing the ultimate purpose of all their negotiations with the Creeks and the Cherokees has depended on keeping both in ignorance of the design starkly outlined by Joseph Boone to the Proprietors in these words, "It is a matter of great weight to us how to hold both as our friends for some time and assist them in cutting one another's throats without offending either. If we cannot destroy one nation of Indians by another our country must be lost."²²

Hollata's death makes a change in the plans of Brim. The law of retaliation requires that it be avenged upon the Yamasees. But they are now allies of Spain and enemies of the English, so Seepeycoffee must leave his friends the French and join the English in order to avenge his brother's death.

Brim turns this necessity to account by securing the support of the English for Seepeycoffee as his successor. He tells Fitch that he is now too old for the charge he has and since Hollata is dead there is none left of his family but Seepeycoffee who is fit to take that charge upon him and it is the general opinion of his people that Seepeycoffee should succeed him.²³

And so on December 15, 1725, in the last council of his people over which we see him preside, he hears Fitch confer the King of England's commission upon Seepeycoffee "to be commander-in-chief of this nation under his father Emperor Brim's direction."²⁴

The pathos of his appeal for English recognition of Seepeycoffee and the pomp and ceremony with which that recognition is received, convince the South Carolinians that, in his old age, Brim has abandoned his life-long policy of keeping the three white nations guessing and is now trusting wholly in the friendship of the English. Accord-

ingly, they assume that his failing eyes will not detect their maneuvers to have the Cherokees and Chickasaws exterminate the Creeks.

They quickly realize that they have overestimated the effect of senility upon his faculties. At the first hostile move of the Cherokees and Chickasaws, he makes his counter-move. In the spring of 1726, he journeys with Seepeycoffee down the river to Apalachicola where he is met by the headmen of the Lower Creek tribes. There he contrives that Samuel Sleigh shall see them and receive the information that they are on their way to St. Augustine to make a firm treaty with the Spaniards to disregard the English forever. The medicine works. The South Carolinians are cured of their yearning for war among the Indian tribes. Their sole desire now is to preserve the peace. And peace Brim has the rest of his days.²⁵

He is dead when Oglethorpe comes to Coweta in 1739 and his son reigns in his stead, advised by the wise Chekilili; but the influence of his teaching directs the policy of his people throughout the years to come. The neighboring tribes grow weaker and weaker but the Creek Confederacy waxes strong and holds fast to its lands, to lose them only when there remains but one white nation to press upon them and Brim's doctrine of the balance of power cannot be applied to stop the advancing Georgians.

Oglethorpe called him "the great Brim."²⁶ Those interested in doing belated justice to his memory may well argue that he was the greatest of his race and rest their argument upon the contrast between the contempt of the white invaders for other Indian chiefs and their respect for Brim as revealed by two fragments of the lost history of the Southeast that have escaped oblivion.

Commenting on the servility with which in 1694 the Chief of the Yamasees obeyed the order of the Quaker John Archdale to proceed to St. Augustine and surrender four Christian Indian slaves to the Spaniards, John Old-

mixon wrote, "which may serve to give us an Idea of the Power of an Indian King, who receives Orders from a Governour of a small Province, as Carolina was then whatever it is now."²⁷

Oldmixon's History of South Carolina containing this comment was published in 1708. When experience had forced upon the European mind some appreciation of the Creek Emperor's genius, a Frenchman, after luridly and inaccurately portraying Brim's part in the Yamasee War and the retaliation of the English, drew this picture of him:

"But as they saw that they would take vengeance with interest, they made very great presents to the emperor to regain his friendship. The French do the same thing and, also the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served on a silver dish. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has numbers of slaves who are busy day and night cooking food for those going and coming to visit him. He seldom goes on foot, always on well harnessed horses. He is absolute in his nation. He has a quantity of cattle and kills them sometimes to feast his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take sides with one of the three European nations who know him, he alleging that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards have with one another."²⁸

As we look upon him through the eyes of that Frenchman and behold him rich and honored in the place of power to which he has risen from the depths of failure, surrounded by his confederated tribes secure in the possession of the homes of their fathers; as we remember that he and his people had no source of material wealth save the ground from which they raised their crops by primitive methods of agriculture and the forests where they slew

their game with rude weapons, that they possessed no metals nor anything else to trade with the white man except captive slaves and skins of beasts, that they had no books nor any written language and even the traditions handed down to them by word of mouth were undated for want of a measure for the lapse of time, and that all his achievements were the work of his own intelligence unaided by the wisdom of scholars or the lessons of recorded history; we doubt that we have done him full justice in limiting our comparison to others of his own race and we wonder which of the white men styled "the Great" by their admirers could, with so little, have done so much.

NOTES

References to Archivo General de Indias, herein abbreviated A. G. I., are from copies in the University of Georgia Library; those to British Public Record Office, Board of Trade, herein abbreviated B. P. R. O. B. T., are from copies in the office of A. S. Salley, Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina; those to Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, herein abbreviated J. C. H. A., are from printed copies edited by A. S. Salley, and published by the Historical Commission of South Carolina.

1. N. D. Mereness, Ed. *Travels in the American Colonies*, New York, 1916, pp. 176 *et seq.*
2. A. G. I. Santo Domingo 54-5-11.
3. John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, Chapel Hill 1936, p. 173.
4. A. G. I. Mexico 58-4-23.
5. Herbert E. Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia*, Berkeley 1925, pp. 48 *et seq.* Lanning *op. cit.* pp. 177 *et. seq.*
6. William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.* Dublin 1793, p. 63.
7. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Washington 1922, p. 442.
8. S. G. McLendon, *History of the Public Domain of Georgia*, Atlanta 1924, p. 11.
9. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 117.
10. *Ibid* pp. 120 *et. seq.*
11. J. C. H. A. 1702, p. 64.
12. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, Durham 1928, p. 83.
13. Crane, *op. cit.* pp. 95 and 96, where the Choctaw expedition is described.
14. Crane, *op. cit.* Chap. VII., contains the best account of the Yamassee War.
15. Mereness, Ed. *op. cit.* p. 182.
16. B. P. R. O. B. T., Vol. 10, Q. p. 121.
17. James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, Johnson City, 1930, p. 39. The South Carolina records contain nothing to verify Adair's statement. They credit the Cherokees with causing the withdrawal of the Creeks to the Chattahoochee.
18. B. P. R. O. B. T., Vol. 10, Q. p. 121.
19. *Ibid* p. 157.

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20. Crane, *op. cit.* p. 272.
21. Mereness, Ed. *op. cit.* p. 204.
22. B. P. R. O. B. T. Vol. 10, Q. p. 126.
23. Mereness, Ed., *op. cit.* p. 183.
24. Ibid, p. 209.
25. Crane, *op. cit.* p. 269.
26. Mereness, Ed., *op. cit.* p. 215.
27. A. S. Salley, Ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, New York, 1911, p. 336.
28. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 225 *et seq.* Quoted by permission of Dr. Swanton.

THE PICTURE

This is, of course, purely fanciful. It was drawn by Mrs. Lamar Harrell from data furnished by me. If scientists detect any inaccuracies in it, the fault is mine not hers. The head-dress is a combination of the warrior's crown described by Bartram and that actually worn by William McIntosh, Chief of the Cowetas a hundred years later. The cape is from that of a Seminole chief pictured in Bartram's *Travels*. The shirt is worn as described by the companions of Oglethorpe. The saddle is from Adair's description. The sword and axe are drawn from those interred with a Creek chief in Old Ocmulgee Fields during the time of Brim's reign. The designs on the blanket and on the harness are taken from Creek pottery of the same period. Other details are from equally authentic sources.

There may be some well-founded criticism of Brim's carrying the calumet in his own hand, but all contemporary writers agree that the royal standard of feathers either of the eagle or of the black vulture always accompanied the Chief of the Cowetas, so we let him carry it to get it in the picture.

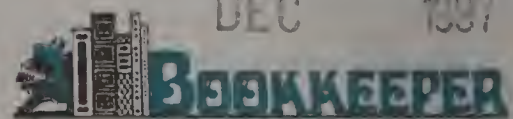
Only the mare is modern; she is my own.

—W. A. H.

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